

## Message Text

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43

ACTION SS-30

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EXDIS/SALT

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: COMMENTS ON NOVEMBER 13 MEETING (SALT TWO - 353)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING MADE STATEMENT ON NON-CENTRAL SYSTEMS, REITERATING OUR NON-CIRCUMVENTION FORMULA AS "THE ONLY FEASIBLE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF NON-CENTRAL SYSTEMS." SEMENOV'S STATEMENT WAS A HODGEPODGE OF WHAT TO ME HE PRIVATELY REFERRED TO AS "SEPARATE ITEMS," WHICH STARTED WITH REFERENCE TO CONCEPT OF SEPARATE AGREEMENTS PENDING A PERMANENT AGREEMENT AND WENT ON "UNDER INSTRUCTIONS" TO ATTACK US STRATEGIC PROGRAMS, SPECIFICALLY CITING ACCELERATION OF MIRVING OF MINUTEMEN AND POISDON, ACCELERATION OF B-1 AND TRIDEN PROGRAMS, RETROFITTING OF B-52S WITH SRAMS "AT AN ACCELERATED PACE," DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW AIR-SURFACE MISSILE, AND GROWTH IN US BUDGET FOR STRATEGIC ARMS. "SUCH STEPS DO NOT CREATE MUTUAL TRUST." HE THEN MADE PROPOSAL FOR SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON NON-TRANSFER ALONG THE LINES OF ARTICLE XIV OF OCTOBER 9 DRAFT.

2. I IMMEDIATELY RESPONDED AT THE MEETING TO THE FIRST TWO POINTS, NOTING THAT WE HAD IN MAY MADE PROPOSAL FOR SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON MIRVS, WHICH WAS MOST TIME SENSITIVE OF ALL ISSUES WE FACED AND THAT SOVIET SIDE HAD BRUSQUELY TURNED IT DOWN WITHOUT DISCUSSION. ON HIS ATTACK ON OUR PROGRAMS, I POINTED OUT THAT THEY WERE FOR MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT AND THAT, ALTHOUGH I

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HAD WAITED FOR, I WAS DISAPPOINTED NOT TO HEAR ANY MENTION

WHATEVER OF THEIR ICBM PROGRAMS. SOVIET PROGRAMS WERE IN FIELD THAT WE WOULD BOTH AGREE IS POTENTIALLY MOST DESTABILIZING OF ALL THREE CENTRAL-SYSTEM ELEMENTS AND WAS UNPRECEDENTED IN SIZE AND SCOPE. HE MADE LAME ANSWER TO FIRST POINT, BY SAYING SOVIET OCTOBER 9 PROPOSAL WAS THEIR ANSWER TO OUR MIRV PROPOSAL, BUT HE MADE NO EFFORT TO RESPOND TO MY STATEMENT ON THEIR ICBM PROGRAM.

3. IN OUR PRIVATE TALK, I ASKED HIM WHEETHER I SHOULD INTERPRET HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING AS IMPLYING AN INTEREST IN A SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC PROGRAMS OF BOTH SIDES, TO WHICH HE REPLIED THAT "IF HE HAD UNDERSTOOD HIS STATEMENT CORRECTLY," IT CONSISTED OF ENTIRELY SEPARATE PARTS NOT RELATED TO EACH OTHER. IN RESPONSE TO MY PROBING ON WHAT HAD LED TO THEIR NOW PROPOSING SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON NON-TRANSFER AND WHAT THEY HAD IN MIND, SEMENOV SIMPLY SAID THAT HE THOUGHT "WE HAD POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN US ON THIS SUBJECT," AND HE THOUGHT "THEY HAD NEVER BEEN DISCUSSED." (KLOSSON'S AND AUSLAND'S BILATERAL WITH GRINEVSKY AND SMOLIN INDICATED SOVIET INTEREST IN SOME SEPARATE AGREEMENT OF SOME KIND, PRESUMABLY "TO SHOW PROGRESS.")

4. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION HE REFERRED TO MY PREVIOUS QUESTIONS TO HIM ON SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD "FREEDOM TO MIX," TO WHICH HE RESPONDED THAT SOVIETS FELT THERE SHOULD BE PROVISION FOR "MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT" IN PERMANENT AGREEMENT. WHEN I WENT BACK OVER GROUND POINTING OUT HIS ANSWER WAS TO A QUESTION I HAD NOT ASKED, HE SAID THAT HE RECOGNIZED THIS BUT THEIR REPLY HAD NEVERTHELESS "BEEN CAREFULLY CONSIDERED." "THIS IS WHAT IS KNOWN AS MOVEMENT IN DIFFERENT PLANES, WHICH HAPPENS OFTEN IN NEGOTIATIONS." JOHNSON

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